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STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF  
LOCRIS. I

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DURING the months of July and August, 1914, I travelled on foot through the whole length of East and of West Locris, visiting by means of side excursions almost every known site of ancient habitation in that region, making topographical notes, and taking a number of photographs. Some of the inscriptions which I found in the course of these travels have already appeared in this JOURNAL (Vol. XIX, pp. 320 ff.). The present contributions upon moot points in the topography and history of Locris, East and West, based in the main upon my own observations, can be most conveniently arranged under the rubrics of the different localities, using the ancient name, if that be certainly ascertained, if not, the modern designation. The order is in general that in which I visited the localities in question.

LARYMNA

As to the location of Larymna proper there can be no question. The authoritative Greek sources are explicit enough,<sup>1</sup> and the modern name of the region (ἡ τοῖς Λάρυμναις) is conclusive. But whether there were two towns by this name, and, if so, what the relation of the second, or Upper Larymna, was to Lower Larymna, are difficult questions upon which no substantial agreement has been reached.<sup>2</sup> The solitary passage which expressly mentions

<sup>1</sup> Pliny (*N. H.*, IV, 27), to be sure, puts it in the northwestern portion of East Locris, beyond Daphnus. In his account Larymna (or as he calls it, "Larumna") properly should come in right after the clause "Locri . . . per quos amnis Cephisus defertur in mare" (obviously from the same source as Strabo's ἐντρέθεν δ' ἡδὴ ὁ Κηφισὸς ἐκδιδῶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν [IX, 2, 18, p. 407]). But Pliny's geography of Greece is full of errors. For the date of his sources on Locris see below. Mela, II, 45, puts "Larumnae" between Anthedon and Aulis; but this is merely characteristic of his wretched compilation. Compare also note 2, p. 60, below.

<sup>2</sup> A detailed account of the earlier literature is given by De la Porte du Teil, *Eclairciss.* 15 on this passage of Strabo, in the Du Teil, Koraes, Gosselin, Letronne, *Géographie du Strabon*, II, 1805 ff. The discussion is carried further

Upper Larymna is in Strabo, IX, 2, 18, p. 406: *εἰτα ἐξέερρξεν* (sc. ὁ Κηφισσός) *εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν κατὰ Λάρυμναν τῆς Δοκρίδος τὴν ἄνω · καὶ γὰρ ἑτέρα ἐστίν, ἥς <ἐμνήσθη>μεν, <ἡ> Βοιωτικῇ, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἣ προσέθεσαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἄνω.* The text here is sound, the meaning clear: there was a Λάρυμνα ἡ ἄνω belonging to Locris, a Λάρυμνα ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ (or ἡ κάτω) belonging to Boeotia. It is of no use to object as Mannert<sup>1</sup> and Groskurd<sup>2</sup> do, that no other author, not even Strabo himself, though he speaks of Larymna elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> mentions this upper town; no one else had the slightest occasion to do so, with the possible exception of Pausanias,<sup>4</sup> and his silence may be very well explained. Either the place had wholly disappeared by his time,<sup>5</sup> or else Pausanias never visited Larymna at all, which is much more likely, and merely abbreviated some other account.<sup>6</sup>

The real difficulty is geographical. If we look for Upper Larymna in the valley of the *Revma*, the so-called Cephissus,<sup>7</sup>

by C. G. Groskurd, *Strabons Erdbeschreibung*, II, 1831, *ad loc.* All these purely philological disputations, before the era of travel and archaeology, have very little value now.

<sup>1</sup> *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, VIII. Teil, Leipzig 1822, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> IX, 2, 13, p. 405: *εἰς μὲντοι ἔτι προΐοντι μικρὸν πόλιναι δύο τῶν Βοιωτῶν, Λάρυμνά τε, παρ' ἣν ὁ Κηφισσὸς ἐκδίδωσι.* Even in the passage (IX, 4, pp. 425 f.) where Strabo mentions other Locrian towns, but not Larymna, as Groskurd objects, he is really describing Locris and its towns as they were constituted in his own day. Upper Larymna may very well have ceased to exist, or at least to be noteworthy, by his time (see below).

<sup>4</sup> IX, 23, 4.

<sup>5</sup> So W. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, Bremen 1840, I, p. 230; C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, Leipzig 1882, I, p. 193, 2; Hitzig and Blümner, *ad loc.*; Girard, *De Locris Opuntiis*, Paris 1881, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835, II, pp. 290 f., had given good reasons for doubting if Pausanias could have written as he did, had he actually made the journey from Acraephium to Larymna; and R. Heberdey, *Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland*, Wien 1894, p. 102 and note 84, very plausibly ascribes the whole passage in Pausanias to a Periplus (on the use of which by Pausanias, cf. Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, pp. 175 ff.). A. de Ridder even doubts whether Pausanias ever made the trip that he describes from Acraephium to Copae, which was supposed to include this trip to Larymna (*B.C.H.* XVIII, 1894, pp. 271, 2; 451), and I believe he is right. (See hereafter upon Cyrtone and Corsea.)

<sup>7</sup> On the proper relations of the Cephissus and the Melas to lake Copais, and their respective outlets, see A. Philippson, *Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, XXIX, 1894, pp. 40 ff. Erroneous views of the ancients are there discussed.

above the lower town, then it is incredible that the harbor town should have been Boeotian at a time when the upper town was Locrian. Larymna as a harbor had practically no Locrian country as *hinterland*, as Ulrichs (*op. cit.*, p. 230) pertinently observes, and if Upper Larymna lay in Locrian hands, the port simply could not have been utilized by the Boeotians at all. And again, at a time when Boeotia was strong enough to seize and hold an ancient Locrian city, how could the Locrians have maintained themselves in a position which effectively blocked off the harbor from the Boeotian interior? Or, if the Boeotians controlled the route which ran from Lower Larymna by the modern sites Martino and Monachou to Copae, how could an insignificant Locrian enclave<sup>1</sup> have maintained itself, surrounded by Boeotians? That Upper Larymna might for a time have been Boeotian, while Lower Larymna was still Locrian, would be natural enough,<sup>2</sup> as Boeotia gradually encroached upon ancient Locris, but the converse is historically and topographically unthinkable. Two suggestions have been made to avoid this difficulty. Leake<sup>3</sup> thought that the modern Larmais (the district), or Kastri (the town), was the Locrian, or Upper Larymna, and that the Boeotian or Lower Larymna was to be sought for on the bay of Skroponeri. This is inadmissible for several reasons, even if one, with Leake, regard Strabo as having blundered badly. First, no remains have ever been found of any ancient town of any appreciable size on the bay of Skroponeri, nor from the character of the surrounding country is it likely that a seaport town ever existed there; yet the Boeotian Larymna was an important place. Second, as Leake himself admits,

<sup>1</sup> The foundations and lower courses of the walls of Upper Larymna (Bazaraki) are of less than ordinary strength, and the workmanship is inferior. As a natural stronghold, its situation was admirable; on a mountain spur, with a ravine on one side, gentler slopes on two other sides, and a depression on the east towards the mountain, and with powerful and perennial springs of water just outside the walls and dominated from them. But its fortifications could never have stood comparison with those of Lower Larymna, and it was clearly not intended for a fortress.

<sup>2</sup> In Ulrichs' time, of the three mills in the gorge, the uppermost belonged to the monastery of Palagia on Mt. Ptoon in Boeotia, the two lower to Martino, *op. cit.*, p. 227. Compare also K. G. Fiedler: *Reise*, etc., Leipzig 1840, I, p. 110. Pape-Benseler, *s.v.* Λάρυμνα, make the upper town Boeotian and the lower Locrian, flatly against the testimony of Strabo, and this is not the only palpable blunder in the article, which must have been cast together hurriedly.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 290 f.

Upper Larymna soon disappeared, yet his "Upper Larymna" is the most considerable mass of ancient remains in all that part of Greece, while his "Lower Larymna" cannot be discovered at all.<sup>1</sup> Third, there is no conceivable reason why one Larymna should be called "Upper" and the other "Lower," if they were both on the seacoast, at exactly the same level, not even in the same valley, but separated from one another by a considerable mountain, and belonging to different tribes. Fourth, if anything at all is clear from Strabo, it is that Upper Larymna and the Anchoe were very close together, while the Anchoe (now Kephalaria) is fully three miles from Lower Larymna.<sup>2</sup>

H. Kiepert in the *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, XV (1894), identified Upper Larymna with the small ancient settlement near Martino.<sup>3</sup> This satisfies the requirement of the expression ἡ ἄνω, for it so happens that the two streams enter the gulf of Larymna at almost equal distances from the town, the so-called Cephissus to the south, and the other, a rather sizable torrent, to the north. Also it is quite conceivable that Lower Larymna might have been Boeotian while the village at Martino was Locrian, for, though Lower Larymna is the natural outlet for Martino (the whole region belonged to Martino, and was cultivated thence when Ulrichs passed through),<sup>4</sup> there is no difficulty in reaching the sea from this point by the route leading through Cheliadou and Proskyna. There are, however, very serious difficulties involved in Kiepert's conjecture. First, if you can accept anything about Strabo's account, it is that Upper Larymna was near the Anchoe and the outlet of the so-called Cephissus. Second, considerable remains of a town at just this site are actually in existence, and there is no other recorded town name which can, with any degree of plausibility, be assigned to them. Third, though Martino is actually in a valley that is literally "above" Larymna, nevertheless the Larymna valley could only have been that of the so-called Cephissus, its abundant flow of water driving the mills

<sup>1</sup> The only ruins on this bay are probably those of Phocae (Ptol., 3, 15, 9).

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, London, V (1898), pp. 106, 108. This agrees with my own pedometer record (July 7).

<sup>3</sup> It is due only to very imperfect geographical data that K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos* (ed. Schneidewin), in his two maps does the same thing. His locating Upper Larymna by the Anchoe is of course correct, and had he known that Martino lay on a quite different water course, he would certainly not have confused the two.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

and irrigating the gardens and orchards of the town,<sup>1</sup> while this valley alone connected the harbor with the large and important towns of the interior for which it served as the most convenient outlet.<sup>2</sup>

We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that the ruins at the gorge above the springs in the Revma at Bazaraki are Upper Larymna. Some final confirmation of this view may be seen in the modern designation, Apano-Larma, as an alternative to Bazaraki, while the region below the narrows is called Kato-Larma (Ulrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 227). That there really was such a place as Upper Larymna the discovery of ruins precisely where Strabo locates it is conclusive evidence. They answer once and for all the hypercriticism of Mannert and Groskurd (*loc. cit.*), that Strabo had created a second Larymna in a vain attempt to reconcile sources which spoke now of a Locrian and again of a Boeotian town by that name. We may further note that the existence of two separate towns called Larymna has left its impress also in the distorted farrago of Pliny. In *N. H.*, IV, 27 (see p. 32, n. 1), mention is made of a Locrian *Larumna*; but in 26 the MSS. give: "Glissa, Copae, iuxta Cephisum amnem Lamiae et Anichiae," etc. Now it makes no difference whether we preserve the barbarous corruptions "Lamiae" and "Anichiae" (which Pliny may very possibly have actually written) with the most recent scholars (Detlefsen and Mayhoff), or emend

<sup>1</sup> Kambanis (*B.C.H.* XVII, 1893, p. 324) is certainly wrong in saying that the springs right at Bazaraki are the outflowing of water from the katavothras. The quantity of their flow has no relation to the level of the Copaic lake, as the natives long ago asserted (Ulrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 227) and as has been proved by the fact that the complete drainage of the lake has not affected these springs in the slightest, which flow now as copiously as ever. (Cf. also Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 107.) Philippson (*op. cit.*, p. 50) speaks as though all the springs in the Larymna valley were fed from katavothras 4-7 of his list. But since the draining of the lake all these katavothras are dry, while the lower springs run as formerly. If they are connected with any katavothras of lake Copais, it must be Philippson's 1 and 2, near the former island Stroviki, for into these a branch of the never failing Melas has constantly flowed, or else they are connected with the swampy region about the head springs of the Melas.—On "katavothra" as the correct form of the singular (not katabothron, or katavothron as it is frequently given, *e. g.*, by the *International* and the *New Standard*) one might compare Kyriakides, *Modern Greek-English Dictionary*, s. v. *Καταβόθρα*, and Philippson, *op. cit.*, p. 45, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Kiepert in the *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, XIV (1906), and the accompanying text, p. 2, very properly places Upper Larymna at Bazaraki, in accord with most geographers.

with Barbarus and Harduin to "Larymna" and "Anchoa," there can be no question that these last mentioned places are meant.<sup>1</sup> Regarding Larymna (of course Anchoe was not a city) Pliny was, unwittingly enough, no doubt, in essence correct.<sup>2</sup>

The statement of Strabo, however, that Upper Larymna was Locrian at a time when Lower Larymna was Boeotian, we have seen cannot be accepted. Can it be explained as anything but a gross error? I think it can. But first we must refute a well meant but unsuccessful attempt to explain away the difficulty. Ulrichs (*op. cit.*, p. 230) conjectured that the older Larymna was near the Anchoe and that its *ἐπιβολή* later grew to such importance (but only after the Boeotian occupation) that the older Locrian settlement was first overshadowed, and later wholly absorbed. This view has been accepted by Bursian (*loc. cit.*), and Wm. Smith (*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, s.v. Larymna*), but there are fatal objections to it. In the first place there is nothing at all ancient about the ruins of Upper Larymna. The city walls are all of squared stone, sometimes only roughly hewn, but as such only evidence of careless work, not of antiquity.<sup>3</sup> The only suggestion of polygonal work is in some interior terrace walls (so also Lolling) and these are unquestionably late. The pottery fragments which are plentiful are all relatively late, and the only known inscription from the site (published in this JOURNAL, 1915, pp. 320 f.) belongs to Roman times. Precisely the opposite is the case at Lower Larymna. Here notable remains of a rough polygonal city wall of an ancient order exist, especially to the northeast beside the little harbor, where a stretch of nearly 100 metres still stands at some places as much as 2.5 m. in height, and averaging about 4.5 m. in thickness.<sup>4</sup> Frazer (*loc. cit.*, p. 108) noticed this wall, but felt uncertain as to its date. He was

<sup>1</sup> Groskurd, *loc. cit.*; Hirschfeld, Pauly-Wiss., I, 2111, 10 f.

<sup>2</sup> It is singular that neither *Anchoa* nor *Anichiae* appears in the *Thesaurus*. Perin's new *Onomasticon* does better, although it cites only *Anchoa* and refers merely to Leake's antiquated discussion.

<sup>3</sup> This I can assert from a careful examination of them myself. So also Lolling in Baedeker<sup>4</sup>, p. 186 (Engl. Ed.), and Hitzig-Blümner (*loc. cit.*); cf. also Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Noack, *loc. cit.*, p. 450. Ulrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 231, had noted the existence of this large polygonal wall and assigned it quite properly to an earlier epoch than the other fortifications. Precisely the same condition exists at the neighboring and closely related Halae. There the excavators, Miss Walker and Miss Goldman, found very considerable remains of a polygonal wall, dating from the sixth century or earlier. See this JOURNAL, 1915, pp. 432 ff.

inclined to ascribe both it and a semicircular tower inside a rectangular one on the northeast of the town "to a later repair." This view is quite inadmissible. At what period of "later repair," that is, long after the fine ashlar masonry of the fourth (or possibly fifth or third) century, did men erect massive walls of rough-hewn cyclopean masonry more than 4 m. in thickness, and that too at a point where there was the very least chance or likelihood of the older walls being injured, *i.e.*, on the inner or protected side of the small harbor, and where there is no indication that walls of ashlar masonry ever existed? Furthermore such later repairers were not particular about materials used, yet the singular feature of these polygonal walls is that they



FIGURE 1.—LARYMNA. CYCLOPEAN WALL BY THE INNER HARBOR

are uniformly constructed of white limestone, while the ashlar masonry walls are of a markedly red stone, as Mr. Frazer himself noticed; why should the repairers have gone to the trouble of working new quarries and have utterly rejected any fragments even of the hypothetically older walls which they were supposed to be repairing? On the other hand, the builders of the ashlar masonry walls were compelled to use for the most part freshly quarried stone, as few of the white limestone blocks, if properly squared, would have been large enough for their purposes, yet they did use them occasionally, as here and there a white stone appears in the red. As for the tower southeast of the mole, of "fine ashlar masonry," which Mr. Frazer supposes to have "been



replaced by a semi-circular tower of polygonal masonry built of small stones with gaping joints," I should suggest that precisely the opposite of Mr. Frazer's suggestion is the case. The earlier, rather rude polygonal tower of uniformly white limestone, has been encased in a rectangular tower of ashlar masonry. When the new walls were erected the builders, finding this tower in a fair state of preservation, although not strong enough for their purposes, simply used it as a support for the casing of rectangular blocks in the new square tower. In this way it was preserved



FIGURE 2.—LARYMNA. TOWER ON THE NORTHEAST BY THE OUTER HARBOR

when the much better laid wall finally succumbed to the elements. How otherwise, one may well ask, could a loosely built wall of this sort have survived say fifteen centuries or more, when a much more powerfully built wall, according to Mr. Frazer's theory, fell into decay in a fraction of that time? Finally, if the loosely built wall were a repair, how are we to account for the singular action of the builders who carefully eschewed the fine squared blocks of red limestone lying all about them, as they still are today, and went to the trouble of bringing in smaller and only roughly fashioned stones of a different quarry for a more

difficult piece of construction? The illustrations (Figs. 1 and 2) of the two portions of the wall, which are from my own photographs, will, perhaps, make my argument clearer. They will also show that the semicircular tower belongs probably to a little later period than the long stretch of cyclopean wall beside the little harbor.

All this discussion has the most important bearing on the history of Larymna. These rough polygonal walls prove conclusively that Larymna was a strongly fortified, and hence important, seaport in very early, probably Mycenaean times.<sup>1</sup> Obviously

<sup>1</sup> Another evidence of early settlement is the proto-Corinthian pottery found at Larymna. Cf. Noack, *loc. cit.* A. de Ridder in an exceedingly captious criticism of Noack's work (*B.C.H.* XVIII, 1894, pp. 446 ff., esp. p. 451) denies that the Minyan civilization had any contact with the sea; he asserts that the Minyans were utterly engrossed in agriculture, and thinks that the fortifications on the hills between the Copaic lake and the coast were intended to protect the plain from the sea. So far as I know typical "Mycenaean" pottery has not been found either at Anthedon or at Larymna, but no excavations have been carried on at either place, and the oldest fortifications at both sites are very likely from the later Mycenaean period. Particularly the fortification of such low lying sites rather than rocky hill tops is characteristic of Minoan or Mycenaean civilization in contrast with archaic Greek (cf. Noack, *op. cit.*, p. 439). As for de Ridder's notion regarding the hill forts, one might observe that pirates never could have penetrated as far inland as Orchomenus, nor, if they did, would such hill forts have been any real hindrance to them, as the low mountains are everywhere traversable for such men. The only good reason for their construction would be to afford safety to commercial highways from the occasional depredations of mountain brigands. But the less said about this fantastic notion, perhaps, the better, since even Wilamowitz has admitted (on new inscriptional evidence) that Orchomenus as a member of the Calaurian Amphictiony was a sea power in control of the Northern Boeotian coast, Anthedon, and, we must add, Larymna, through the seventh, and probably well into the sixth century B.C. See his 'Die Amphiktionie von Kalaurea,' *Nachr. der. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1896, pp. 158 ff., esp. 167. His results are completely accepted by Ed. Meyer, *Hellenika*, p. 101, 2, and Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup>, I, pp. 208 f., 330. Beloch (p. 209) calls the trade route with the sea the "Lebensnerv" of Orchomenus.—It is strange that in noting the control which Orchomenus must have had over a harbor, Wilamowitz thought only of Anthedon, quite neglecting the much better, and more naturally connected harbor, Larymna (at the mouth of the so-called Cephisus), with the shorter haul, and the far more favorable terrain, and hence better roadway. Of course, if one were prepared to accept the view of A. Boeckh (*Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1836, pp. 41 ff.=*Kl. Schr.*, I, pp. 1 ff.) and E. Curtius (*Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1842, pp. 1181 ff.) that the Minyans, akin to the Tyrrhenians, came by sea to Boeotia (which, in view of the increasing favor with which the oversea origin of the Etruscans is now regarded, is not at all impossible), the question were completely settled. Larymna would then have been just a station in

not for the Locrians, but only for the "Minyans" of Orchomenus and the region of the Copaic Lake. A glance at the map shows that Larymna is the only convenient outlet to the sea, and to these seafaring Minyans of Orchomenus the earliest occupation of Lower Larymna as a harbor must be ascribed. All this is obvious, and attention has been called to it more than once,<sup>1</sup> but as Leake, Ulrichs, Smith, Bursian, Frazer, de Ridder, and others have disregarded it, I shall try to add some further evidence, and to point out the bearing of these facts upon the history of this special region and of the Locrians in general.

The great engineering works for draining the Copaic Lake must have compelled the Minyans to ensure a safe outlet for the large part of the waters of the lake which escaped by way of the Larymna valley, for the dangers of any stopping up of the exits were so great and the effect so immediate (compare the Theban Hercules legend), that it was a vital matter to control all outlets which might be interfered with.<sup>2</sup> This cause alone would have made the Minyans control the Larymna valley, even were a haven not necessary.

Again, between Upper Larymna and the sea an ancient road, some distance above the present way, passes for some 300 m. over an outcrop of very hard limestone, in which the fissures have been filled up with small stones. The great antiquity of this road and its very considerable use are shown by the extremely deep ruts (measuring 1.55 m. from centre to centre), which can be traced for the greater part of this distance. At some places, despite the weathering of nearly two thousand years, they are

their advance to the interior, and must always have been held in order to maintain relations with their original element and connections. It is better, however, not to use this theory for argument until more objective evidence can be adduced in support of it. Nevertheless Curtius (*op. cit.*, p. 188) is quite right in insisting that the Minyans are everywhere and constantly regarded as a folk of seafarers. See also Philippson, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff., on the Minyans, their origin and relation to Thebes and the seacoast.

<sup>1</sup> As e.g. by K. O. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 207; H. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alten Geographie*, Berlin, 1878, pp. 285, 289; Lolling, *Hellen. Landeskunde (Müller's Hdbch.)*, p. 133; *Baedeker*<sup>4</sup> (Engl. ed.), pp. 186, 190; E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II, p. 193; and Noack, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. L. Kambanis, *B.C.H.* XVII, 1893, pp. 334 ff.; Noack, *op. cit.*, p. 450. On the causes and consequences of such stoppages, and the probable historical element in the Herculeslegend, see Philippson, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

still 16 to 18 in. deep.<sup>1</sup> Now we are compelled, I think, to ascribe these ruts in large part, at least, to the traffic wagons of the Minyans during the many centuries of their domination at Orchomenus. After the rise of Thebes the towns of the Copaic Lake dwindled to complete insignificance, and even though the Thebans at a late date made Larymna a naval base, and fortified it strongly, the main lines of sea trade for central and southern Boeotia lay farther to the south and east. Nothing but the ancient and long enduring commerce of the Minyans can explain

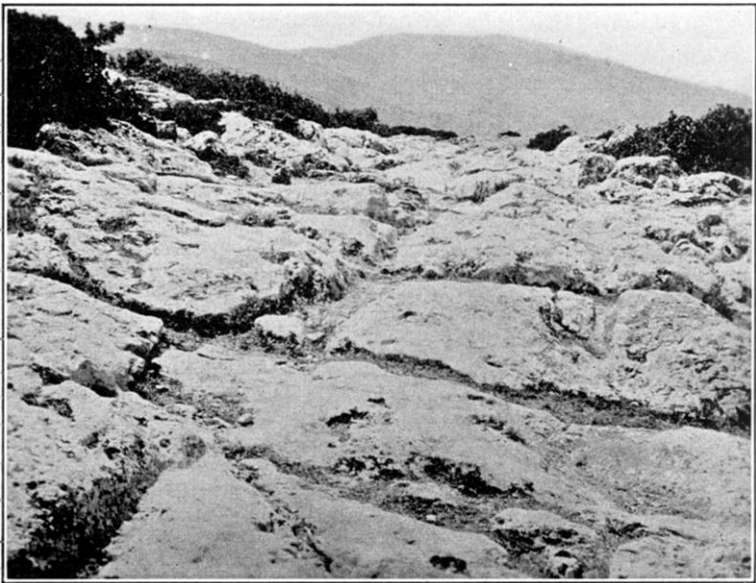


FIGURE 3.—RUTS IN THE ROAD BETWEEN UPPER AND LOWER LARYMNA

the wearing of such extremely deep ruts in hard stone, for after the sixth century B.C., that is after the complete decline of Orchomenian power, the trade of this harbor must have been quite inconsiderable. Some indication possibly of the repute of Larymna of the ancient days may be gathered from Promathidas (*apud* Athen., 296b), who represents Glaucus, the famous sea god of Anthedon, to have been the son of

<sup>1</sup> See the accompanying illustration, No. 3, from my own photograph. These ruts are noticed briefly by Lolling, *Baedeker*<sup>4</sup> (Engl. ed.), p. 186, but by no one else to my knowledge.

Polybus, the son of Hermes, and of Eüboea, the daughter of Larymnus. This setting of Larymna back of both Euboea and Glaucus, the two greatest names of that region, is scarcely conceivable except on the supposition that some faint memory yet remained in the days of Promathidas (even if one could prove that he is not merely following an ancient tradition) of the early importance of the town. Locrian rationalizing genealogy, on the other hand, gives Larymna a much more humble rating (see below, p. 47).

This Minyan, pre-Locrian, occupation of Larymna finds confirmation in another quarter. Despite the fact that Lycophron and the geographers regularly assign Larymna to Locris, it is not mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue, nor in fact are the other Locrian settlements of the Aëtolimni<sup>1</sup> peninsula, Halae or Corsea. On the other hand, the Locrian villages to the north-west, especially between Thermopylae and Cynus are so elaborately enumerated, considering their utter insignificance, that it was a puzzle for later geographers to identify all the names with known sites.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the failure to mention any towns in what was nearly one third of later Locris, despite a marked readiness to notice the most insignificant settlements in the rest of the country, makes it well nigh certain that for the author of the Catalogue the Aëtolimni peninsula was no part of Locris; nor was it any longer Orchomenian, for to him Copae is already Boeotian, *i.e.*, Theban, and Larymna must have been cut off completely from Orchomenus.<sup>3</sup> The towns of the Aëtolimni peninsula are

<sup>1</sup> This is the local pronunciation which I heard. The Austrian map gives "Aëtolima"; T. G. Skuphros, *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin* 29 (1894), p. 415 "Aëtolyma"; A. Philippson in the same volume of the same journal, pp. 8 and on the accompanying map, and A. Bittner, *Denkschr. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss., Math.-Naturwiss. Kl.*, XL, Wien, 1880, p. 3, "Aetolimas"; S. A. Papavasiliou, *C. R. de l'Acad. de Sci.*, Paris, 1894, p. 114, "Aetolymion."

<sup>2</sup> For example, East Locris has eight town names and a "river," the trifling Boagrios, exactly the same number as Phocis (!) whose principal stream, the Cephissus, a real river, is also mentioned. Boeotia is generally regarded as faring expecially well in the Catalogue, yet for the whole country, including Orchomenus and Aspledon, but thirty-one place names appear, and no river or lake, numerically a smaller proportion than that of East Locris (*e.g.*, Kiepert, *F.O.A.*, XV, gives *ca.* 48 town names in Boeotia against only 10 in Locris west of the Aëtolimni peninsula), and from the view point of relative importance, an absurdly disproportionate number.

<sup>3</sup> When the Catalogue was written, the struggle between Thebes and Orchomenus had advanced so far that even Copae had been wrested from the latter. See Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 203, 3. With Copae Boeotian (*i.e.*,

therefore thus caught at a period when they were no longer Minyan, nor yet Locrian, and not of sufficient importance in themselves to warrant detailed mention. And yet it may be that the principal town of the district, Larymna, is not entirely overlooked in the Catalogue. As an Orchomenian dependency it might very easily have been omitted, since Orchomenus itself is barely mentioned and is notoriously slighted in the Homeric epic, and at just this period when the latter was declining rapidly before the advancing power of Thebes, Larymna was probably



FIGURE 4.—LARYMNA. THE INNER HARBOR

a place of very little consequence. But I venture to suggest, nevertheless, that Larymna appears in the form of Nisa in verse 508. The strenuous efforts of the interpreters to emend or explain this statement which they could not understand, are preserved in the Scholia and in the *apparatus criticus* of the

Theban), Orchomenus must have lost all touch with Larymna. Doubtless long before Copae was actually conquered the trade route must have been abandoned owing to the hazards of warfare, and Larymna may have been, therefore, after the passing of its ancient importance, and before the complete establishment of the Locrians, that is, during the time of the poet of the Catalogue, a spot so insignificant as to be omitted without compunctions.

larger editions. That Nisa = Nisaea = Megara (as though there were ever any good reason for making the Megarid a part of Boeotia) is a counsel born surely of desperation. How much more natural to understand it as an early name for Larymna. This latter place had been part of Orchomenian territory, the *ἐπίγειον* or *ἐμπορίον* of the great city by the lake, and the grouping with other names surely suggests Larymna. Arne and Mideia, which immediately precede, have, to be sure, never been located to all men's satisfaction, but Strabo's statement that they were in the basin of the Copaic Lake is after all by far the most plausible explanation. Anthedon, which immediately follows, is the very nearest seaport, and if Nisa be Larymna, one has a most natural group of four closely connected cities of northeastern Boeotia.<sup>1</sup>

However, Nisa may or may not have been Larymna; at all events important inferences for early Locrian history have been secured. Since Larymna was the harbor of Orchomenus, and that city did not succumb to Thebes until the seventh century B.C., or the early part of the sixth (see above, p. 40, n. 1), then Locrian domination in the Aëtolimni peninsula cannot be much anterior to the year 600 B.C. In the chaos that attended the collapse of the Orchomenian hegemony, when the great engineering works of the Copaic Lake were suffered to fall into permanent decay, the hold upon the distant seaport must have been completely relaxed. It was then for the first time possible for the Locrians, who had established themselves firmly at numerous points to the north and west, to expand yet further and to occupy the feeble towns of this peninsula. For it is simply unthinkable that a strong power in northern Boeotia would allow itself to be cut off from its only natural seaport by a relatively feeble folk like the East Locrians. And indeed, when Thebes some centuries later came to dominate completely the north as well as the south and centre of the land, her statesmen proceeded at once to occupy the ancient outlet of the north shore of the lake.

That the Locrians came from the northwest originally there can be no doubt, and that there was some pressure from that

<sup>1</sup> Jardé, *B.C.H.* XXVI, 1903, p. 331, Hirschfeld, *Pauly-Wiss.*, I, col. 2360, and Miss Walker and Miss Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 420, wrongly follow Strabo in interpreting *ἐσχατώσαν* of Anthedon (B 508) as proving that for Homer Larymna was a Locrian town. The adjective means no more than that Anthedon was on the limits of the land, as indeed it was, being on the sea-coast.

quarter already before the fall of Orchomenus appears probable from the existence of a singular wall of large polygonal blocks which extended from the sea to the cliffs at the narrows between the bay of Opus and the mountain (now called Veles).<sup>1</sup> Of course walls at narrow passes in Greece always looked to the north and not the south.<sup>2</sup> This wall must therefore have been intended to keep out invaders from the northwest (*i.e.*, the Locrians, for other invaders of central Greece always crossed into the plain of Phocis long before reaching this point) out of the Aëtolimni peninsula, *i.e.*, away from the port of Larymna.

The final consequences are, therefore, that the Locrians were pushing down the coast before the complete decay of Orchomenus, but did not reach their full extension in historical times until after the year 600 B.C. or thereabouts. They were not, therefore, as has been supposed, a very ancient stock, who were one time spread far and wide from the Gulf of Malis to that of Corinth, and later torn asunder and driven to mountain valleys and a narrow coast line by invaders who forced their way in by the valley of the Cephissus,<sup>3</sup> but the Locrians of the East and West are clearly only two separated tribes, like the half tribes of Manasah, moving down from Pindus (dialectically they belong to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Körte, *Ath. Mitt.* IV, 1879, p. 271, 2, who, however, thinks this wall dates from the time of Epaminondas (see below). That the Boeotians at this time should have erected a large polygonal wall seems to me quite impossible. In the fourth century the Locrians were feeble and passive enough, and besides always to be found on the side of Boeotia anyway. Fortifications at this point in the fourth century can have no meaning. Thebes was campaigning frequently enough in the north but always successfully, and on the offensive. Thessalians or Phocians would have used any number of other passages. Compare also the remarks of Miss Walker and Miss Goldman, *op. cit.* p. 421.—I did not myself see this wall, nor have other recent travelers in this region, but there is no reason to doubt its former existence. The earthquakes of 1894 wrought great havoc at this precise spot, and a considerable tract of land sank below the level of the sea. The remains of this old polygonal wall very likely perished then, or in the necessary reconstruction of roads and retaining walls. On the effects of the earthquake here, see Th. G. Skuphos, *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 29 (1894), pp. 425, 438, 441, 445, 452, 455; C. Mitropoulos, *Petermann's Mittheil.*, 40 (1894), pp. 224 f.; S. A. Papavasiliou, *C. R. de l'Acad. des Sci.*, Paris, 1894, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> As the walls at Tempe, Thermopylae, and the Isthmus.

<sup>3</sup> As many have supposed, *e.g.*, B. G. Niebuhr, *Lect. on Ancient Ethnography*, I, p. 123; H. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.*, p. 228; H. F. Tozer, *Lectures on the Geography of Greece*, p. 225; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXI, 1886, pp. 108 f.; J. B. Bury, *J.H.S.* XV, 1895, p. 229; W. Aly, *Philologus*, LXVIII, 1909, p. 440; R. W. Macan on *Hdt.* VII, 176.



northwest Greek tribes), who divided at the mountain mass of Oeta, some heading southwards to the Gulf of Corinth, others eastwards by the Gulfs of Malis and Euboea.<sup>1</sup> They came probably in small numbers to the east, as their numerical feebleness at all times and the highly aristocratic organization of their state would signify. They found an old settled population, which seems to have been called, or identified with, the Leleges, and with whose legends they interwove in part their own.<sup>2</sup>

In concluding these historical inferences, I may point out that the Locrians had apparently a sound tradition regarding their own relatively late occupation of Larymna. Pausanias (IX, 23, 4) tells us that Larymna received its name from a daughter of Cynus. Now as I have elsewhere observed (*Philol.*, LXVII, 1908, pp. 440 ff.) this archaeological and rationalistic mythology of Locris is not without considerable elements of historical truth. Cynus is made a son of Opus, as being the eponym of the principal harbor of the metropolis. Larymna is the daughter of Cynus, partly because the place was regarded as a harbor of secondary importance, and partly, no doubt, because its occupation was secured at a later date—for the Locrian genealogical table shows evidence of regarding genuine chronological sequence.<sup>3</sup>

Finally we may note a faint echo of a tradition which represented the oldest Locrian settlements of the east coast as being near Thermopylae. Stephanus Byz., s.v. Ἀλπηνοί remarks ἔστι καὶ μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν. Now Alpenoi, or Alponos (the better attested form), was in historical times an utterly insignificant village, mentioned only incidentally by Herodotus and

<sup>1</sup> Compare Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*,<sup>2</sup> I, 1, 89.

<sup>2</sup> There is not the slightest evidence that the Locrians ever spread from sea to sea across what was later Phocis. Not a trace of Locrian legend or of characteristic names or cults appears in the whole region. The name Opus of a promontory in South Phocis (*C.I.L.* III, 567 and *Addit.* XVI, p. 987, 21), as well as of towns in Achaea and Elis, may have been brought by various northwest Greek tribes from their earlier home (for that Locrians and Epeans were closely connected there can be little doubt), or else the name is pre-Locrian, -Phocian, or -Epean, as the case may be, for no satisfactory etymology has as yet been proposed. But these investigations, as well as any discussion of the Leleges, would lead us too far afield for the present study.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Physkos, as the eponym of the Physkeis (an obsolete tribal designation), is very plausibly made the predecessor of Locrus, as he in turn the father of Opus (the tribe is always older than the city which it founds after the migration). Cf. the discussion referred to above.

Aeschines in accounts of battles at Thermopylae, and never thenceforward (except rarely in inscriptions and, of course, by Stephanus). Its rôle as *μητρόπολις* could be due only to a tradition regarding the earliest settlement of the land, as in the historical period it was quite overshadowed by Opus. Furthermore the early prominence of Thronium in Locrian legends (see below), and its inconsequence in historical times, substantiates the view that the Locrians were settled for a considerable time, principally, if not exclusively, in the region between Oeta and Cnemis, *i.e.*, in the extreme western portion of the region they later occupied.

We are now prepared to consider more closely Strabo's statement about Upper Larymna: ἦ (*i.e.*, Lower Larymna) προσέθεσαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἄνω. What do the words mean? Du Theil and Koraes, supplying in thought some such word as *ὄνομα* translated: "surnommée par les Romains, la haute."<sup>1</sup> There are several objections to this. (1) Such a use of *προστίθημι* alone is unparalleled. (2) What did the Romans care about trifling distinctions in the names of towns and suburbs? The natives would have had a thousand occasions to differentiate for one that the Romans could ever have. (3) It makes arrant nonsense of the passage, attributing a statement regarding the upper town to the lower; for in essence the text means if interpreted in this fashion: "There is an Upper Larymna to be distinguished from a Larymna on the seashore which the Romans surnamed Upper Larymna" (!)

Groskurd translates it "welchem die Römer das obere einverleibten," which is the understanding of Leake and others.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Possibly they had in mind such a phrase as ἵππον προσετίθει πρὸς τοῦνομα (Aristoph., *Clouds*, 63), or οὔτε ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ πολεμίου ὄνομα προσέθεσαν (Dio Cassius, 78, 18), but it is difficult to conceive how the word *ὄνομα* or the like could be omitted.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 291, "soon after it (*i.e.*, Upper Larymna) had been annexed by the Romans to Lower Larymna." So Ulrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 230, "Die Römer mochten zuletzt Ober-Larymna ganz aufheben und die Bewohner veranlassen, sich in Unter-Larymna niederzulassen."; also Dr. Smith, *op. cit.*; Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 109. K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos* (ed. Schneidewin), p. 50, paraphrases Strabo thus: "erst die Römer vereinigten wieder, wie so von Anfang an gewesen sein mag, Ober- und Unter-Larymna in eine Stadt."; cf. also p. 473. In this same place Müller conjectures that both Upper and Lower Larymna were originally Opuntian, then, as Thebes became powerful, Lower Larymna came into its hands, only to become Locrian again "nach Thebens Fall," and gives a new turn to the same Strabo passage by paraphrasing it: "die Römer

This is not, like the preceding, a contradiction in terms, but is nevertheless unsatisfactory. In the first place, no plausible reason has been suggested for such a strange action on the part of the Romans. Granted that Lower Larymna was a better location for commercial purposes (as Ulrichs properly observes), why should the Romans greatly care if a few people were willing to inconvenience themselves by living two miles away from this harbor? In the second place, is this a natural meaning for *προστίθῃμι*, *i.e.*, "unite"? The word properly means "to add," for which it is the technical word as opposed to "subtract"—*e.g.*, *ἵνα μὴ τι...προσθῇς ἢ ἀφέλῃς* (Plato, *Phaedo*, 95 E); *οὔτε ἀφέλῃν ἔστιν οὔτε προσθεῖναι αὐτοῖς* (Arist., *Eth.*, II, 6, 9 [1106 b10]), etc. I have examined all the Lexica, and find no passage quite parallel to the meaning required here. "Unite" has many Greek equivalents, but I do not find *προστίθῃμι* among them. That is not to say that it might not be so used upon occasion, as negative proof is very hard to procure, especially in the present state of Greek lexicography, but I do not believe it to be the proper or natural meaning in such a context as this. The words ought to mean—"Larymna by the sea, to which the Romans added Upper Larymna," *i.e.*, as a new foundation. This is simple, and quite natural and proper. "The Romans" in this case can be none other than Sulla. When he visited that blind fury upon the seaports of Boeotia of which even he himself seems to have repented later, he destroyed Larymna.<sup>1</sup> His purpose was clearly

*schlugen beide (i.e., Upper and Lower Larymna) zu Böotien.*" This last is so indefensible that it is fair to regard it as a mere *lapsus memoriae*. Girard, *op. cit.*, p. 35, is partly right in paraphrasing "*quae condita fuerat a Romanis*," but he neither explains the exact statement of Strabo, nor does he take notice of the controversy involved.

<sup>1</sup> He destroyed Halae and Anthedon at the same time, the autumn of 86 B.C. (Plut., *Sulla*, 26). The second army of Mithridates must certainly have used these ports to land their troops in northern Boeotia, and it was natural that to these same points the remnants of the defeated troops should have made their way. Apart from the vengeance which such a man might naturally take on these wretched towns for yielding to the Pontic king (cf. Drumann<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 383), Sulla had already suffered so much in all his operations from the fact that his opponent had command of the sea (and especially in the second Boeotian campaign which had been made possible only thereby), that he must have decided thenceforward to leave no more safe or fortified harbors along this coast for the enemy to use as a base of operations. As for the little village of Halae, Sulla made no arrangement for any rehabilitation, but allowed it later as a *fait accompli* (Plut.). For the more important town of Larymna some special provision of a change of location was natural, if not actually necessary.

to ruin the harbor towns of the northern coast and to damage Boeotia, to whose principal town, Thebes, he had already dealt a blow from which it never recovered. Learning that the region had at one time belonged to Locris, he may very naturally have decided to give it back to its earlier owners,<sup>1</sup> but in his desire to make certain that the Boeotians would not use it again as a harbor, or the Orientals as a base of operations, he must have done two other things: (1) he moved the city two miles back from the coast to a spot which was yet well adapted to manage the cultivation of both the upper and the lower valleys, and (2), he gave the new town a situation admirably adapted to defense, and completely blocking off all direct access to the harbor. It is plain that the new community was intended to have as little commerce as possible, and all that to pass inevitably through the hands of the Locrians, who were put in a strong strategical position to block the way leading to Boeotia and to command both valleys. And with this interpretation the archaeological evidence completely agrees. Upper Larymna was not settled at an early date, nor was it a long time inhabited. The walls are hastily built and now in utter ruins down to the very foundations.<sup>2</sup> Of course in a short time the superior commercial advantages of the harbor location drew men back to it, and under the *pax Romana* there was no longer danger of encroachment. We have reason to think, indeed, that Larymna became Boeotian again;<sup>3</sup> Strabo (IX, 4, pp. 425 f.), in the description of Locris as constituted in his own time, fails to mention any city of the Aëtolimni peninsula as Locrian. Of course he may be merely following an older source, but, it seems more likely that when the fury of Sulla had passed by, the long established claims of Boeotia were restored.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This would be in line with his treatment of Thebes, from which he took away half of her territory (Appian, *Mithrid.*, 54; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 12 and 19; Pausanias, IX, 8, 5.) Orchomenus and Alalcomenae also suffered.

<sup>2</sup> Nor is there any evidence that this town, like so many others, was used as a quarry by later settlements. There are none of any kind nearer than two miles away, and at that place there was more than enough hewn stone already at hand. The settlement here was certainly neither strong nor lasting.

<sup>3</sup> Precisely as "the Romans" rescinded Sulla's confiscation of Theban territory (Pausanias, IX, 7, 6).

<sup>4</sup> If any confidence is to be put in the report of Pausanias (IX, 24, 5), according to which Corsea and Halae were still Boeotian in his time, as is generally done (even by Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 2, p. 359), it is quite possible that the conditions which had prevailed for a long time before Sulla were restored soon after his departure, or death.

However, as Locris, Boeotia, and Phocis were soon united in a *κοινόν*, that made no difference at all from commercial grounds, and, besides, the economic decline of this whole region rendered meaningless any quarreling over a harbor that was being used less and less.

After the first occupation by the Locrians, Larymna remained in their hands for several centuries. This is indicated by the genealogical relations referred to above, and the way in which Lycophron (*Alex.*, 1146) and others refer to it. Pausanias (IX, 23, 7) states: *καὶ συνετέλει δὲ ἐς Ὀποῦντα ἡ Λάρυμνα τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Θηβαίων δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἰσχύος προελθόντων, τηνικαῦτα ἐκουσίως μετετάξαντο ἐς Βοιωτοὺς*. The only natural meaning of these words is in reference to Theban hegemony under Epaminondas in the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> It is true that at a later date than ca. 364 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Larymna is represented as being Locrian, so by Pseudo-Scylax, *Peripl.* 60, and this work is commonly dated about 347 (Unger), or shortly after 337 (Müller); in any event a considerable length of time after the decline of Boeotia, and the loss of many possessions, one of which, Larymna, as the naval policy was certainly a recognized failure, we may plausibly conjecture was, doubtless without resistance, allowed to revert to its former local allegiance, under pressure from the rest of the tribe doubtless, as the men of Larymna themselves must have seen that their economic interests would be better served by a union with Boeotia. The remark of Pausanias that their action was voluntary is therefore extremely plausible. I should be inclined to assign the beautiful ashlar masonry walls of reddish limestone at Larymna to the ambitious

<sup>1</sup> So taken by Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, V, p. 461; G. Körte, *loc. cit.* It seems hardly proper to dismiss the explicit statement of Pausanias as Pomtow, *Neue Jahrb.*, CLV, 1897, p. 795, does: "Pausanias . . . der wieder eigne falsche Hypothesen mit dem Tone völliger Sicherheit vorträgt," and Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 2, 360. That Larymna was Locrian again in 273 B.C. surely proves nothing in view of the extremely complicated and shifting relations of Locris to surrounding powers. At different times from the fifth to the second century Opus itself was Athenian, Boeotian, Phocian, Aetolian, Macedonian, and independent, and with some of these states connections were made and broken more than once. In the century that elapsed from the naval policy of Epaminondas to the date of the inscription at Delphi, there were plenty of opportunities for Larymna to become Locrian once more, notably after the dissolution of the Boeotian league and the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, if not shortly after the death of Epaminondas, as suggested later in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Epaminondas seems actually to have taken to the sea in this year. Considerable work on the harbors of Boeotia must, of course, have preceded.

designs of Epaminondas, whose naval program called for such care and effort, and the work itself would fall best in this age.<sup>1</sup> The later restoration of Thebes under Cassander, while it might have enlarged the territory of the state, had no such interest in powerful harbor fortification works as did the period of Epaminondas. There is, however, no evidence of which I am aware that Larymna was incorporated in Boeotia again by Cassander: The only certain bit of evidence, a Delphian inscription of the year 273-2, is a proxenos-decree in behalf of Εὐβίωι Ἀλύπον Δοκρῶι ἐγ Λαρύμνας.<sup>2</sup> Of course, as Beloch (III, 2, p. 360) observes, this shows clearly that Larymna went over to the Boeotians definitely at least after the time of Cassander, and hence probably in the (hypothetical but not unlikely) revival under Abaeocritus, prior to 245 B.C. (cf. Beloch, III, 1, p. 642). This conjecture may now be regarded as certain since the admirable publication by Miss Goldman, in this JOURNAL, 1915, pp. 445 ff., of an inscription from Halae, dated ἄρχοντας Φίλωνος τῶι κοινῶι Βοιωτῶν. Now Philo, as Dittenberger, on *I. G. VII*, 237, has convincingly argued, falls between 260 (or possibly a little earlier) and 246 B.C. Since the fortunes of Halae were necessarily intimately bound up with those of Larymna (cf. also Miss Walker and Miss Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 420), there can be no doubt that the latter also became Boeotian not long after 273-2, the date of the Delphian inscription just mentioned. Shortly after 229 B.C., possibly ca. 227, Larymna seems to have been still Boeotian, if one be inclined to insist upon a perhaps fair inference from Polybius,<sup>3</sup> but the text is altogether too uncertain to lay stress upon the evidence.

<sup>1</sup> The fine fortifications of Halae, which was also, at least at a later date, a Boeotian harbor, seem to belong to the same style, and are in part at least of exactly the same reddish limestone. Compare Miss Walker and Miss Goldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 432 ff. Miss Goldman, in a letter, substantiates my statement that the material is identical.

<sup>2</sup> *S.G.D.I.*, 2593. J. Beloch, *Klio*, II, 1902, pp. 208 ff., 223 ff., and *Gr. Gesch.* III, 2, p. 357, sets this inscription (archonship of Archiades) in 273-2, disagreeing with Pomtow's first dating. The discovery of new inscriptional evidence has led Pomtow to accept Beloch's date. See *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1913, p. 148, 3, and *Klio*, XIV, 1914, pp. 314 ff.

<sup>3</sup> XX, 5. 7. Without punctuation the passage reads: Ἀντίγονος...πλέων ἐπὶ τινὰς πράξεις πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Βοιωτίας πρὸς Λάρυμναν παραδόξου γενομένης ἀμπώτεως ἐκάθισεν εἰς τὸ ξηρὸν αἰ νῆες αὐτοῦ. Schweighäuser puts a comma after Λάρυμναν, making that the objective of Antigonos, and is followed therein by Dübner and Büttner-Wobst. Yet the objective of the expedition

Between 226 and 216 B.C., Larymna was a Boeotian town, as is shown from the agonal inscription of Lebadeia.<sup>1</sup> In the

of Antigonus is distinctly said to have been all along Asia (§11 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν προκείμενον ἐτέλει πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν), and the action of Neon in letting him sail away as soon as he saw what the real situation was is puzzling if not inexplicable, in case his object was really an attack upon Boeotia (cf. Niese, *Gesch. d. gr. u. maked. Staaten*, II, p. 326). Bekker and Dindorf put the comma after Βουωτίας, which leaves πρὸς in a strange use with Λάρυμναν. Hultsch, following part of a first idea of Schweighäuser, reads, περὶ Δ. for πρὸς Δ., a reading accepted also by Strachan-Davidson (p. 445). Shuckburgh, following both parts of Schweighäuser's conjecture, παρὰ for the first πρὸς and περὶ for the second, translates "Antigonus . . . happened to be sailing on some business along the coast of Boeotia; when off Larymna," etc. One might note that the word Larymna is badly mangled, and the sentence contains also a *nominativus pendens*. This last, though unfortunately too common in Polybius, might, combined with other evidences of corruption, suggest the possibility of a lacuna.—Regarding the ebbs and flows in the bay of Larymna, it may be of interest to observe that Ulrichs (*op. cit.*, p. 231) had noticed that the tide was extremely high under a northeast wind. It so happened that on a perfectly clear and windless day (July 8, 1914) between 8:02 and 11:20 a.m. I noticed at the old bridge across the Revma (which by the way has eight arches and not five as Baedeker (Lolling) and Frazer say, though the water now flows through only six of them) a shift in the tidewater of more than 250 yards, indicating a change in level, as I then estimated, of between two and three feet. A flow and ebb only slightly in excess of this would have embarrassed any ancient fleet, accustomed as men then were to anchoring very close to shore.

Pausanias' statement that Larymna had a λίμνη ἀγχιβαθής (IX, 23, 7), has been generally emended to λιμὴν (so Ulrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 223, n. 13, followed by Schubart, Spiro, Hitzig and Blümner), as no deep-margined lake could under any conceivable circumstances have existed in the vicinity. The statement regarding the harbor is, however, fairly satisfactory. According to the British Admiralty map (*The Talanta Channel*), a depth of seven fathoms is reached at a point comparatively close by to the east of the old town. Comparing this with the same soundings of harbors in the vicinity (*The Talanta Channel* and *The Gulf of Volo with Oreos and Talanta Channels*) it seems that a depth of five or more fathoms comes closer to the shore just opposite Larymna than it does at Oropus, Aulis, Chalcis, Anthedon, Halae, Cynus, or Aedepeus. Eretria alone of the more important harbors has as good depth close to shore. The bay of Skroponeri has deep close shore anchorage, but the mountain, prevented it from becoming an important port.—The attempt of Philippson *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdk. zu Berlin*, XXIX, 1894, pp. 50 f. to defend the MS. reading in Pausanias by referring it to the spring basin of the old Kephalaria is futile. This point was about three miles away, and could never by any stretch of imagination have been called "a deep margined lake."—Bittner's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 3) that the whole upper valley of Larymna was a lake down to the historical period is too improbable to deserve a formal refutation.

<sup>1</sup> Her commissioners and βαδοφόροι take part in celebrating Boeotian games, *I.G.* VII, 3078; completely published by Volgraff, *B.C.H.* XXV, 1901, pp.

second quarter of the second century B.C., Larymna was Boeotian, as we learn from an inscription of Mt. Ptoon,<sup>1</sup> and it was distinctly such when Sulla fell upon the country in 86 B.C. (see pp. 49 ff.). In the pursuit of the enemy after the battle of Orchomenus, Sulla completely destroyed Anthedon, Larymna, and Halae, obviously the principal naval bases of Mithridates. It was at this time, probably, as we have seen above, that Upper Larymna was established. Lower Larymna was Boeotian in Strabo's day, and Pausanias follows the same tradition (from his *Periplus* source doubtless). Thenceforward the town disappears from history. For a time in the period of the Christian era it seems to have been called Larissa. Such at all events is the testimony of the anonymous author of a geographical pamphlet entitled "*Ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις μετωνομάσθησαν*" (best published by A. Burckhardt in his edition of Hierocles, Leipzig, 1893) p. 64, l. 54 (Parthey): *Λάρυμνα ἢ Λάρισσα*. The treatise in question seems to be later than Hierocles (i.e., after 535 A.D.), but its exact date is unknown (K. Krumbacher, *Byz. Literaturgesch.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 417 f.). This definite and not incredible statement throws light, I think, on a passage in Solinus, 7, 25 f. (Mommsen): *Boeoti* (a mistake for *Locri*) *videm sunt qui Leleges fuerunt: per quos defluens Cephisos amnis se in mare condit.* (26) *in hac continentia Opuntius sinus, Larisa oppidum, Delphi, Ramne, etc.* Now widely spread as the name Larissa was, there is no other record of any for the whole region of Locris, Phocis, and Boeotia. Besides Solinus has just been mentioning the lower Cephisos and his source unquestionably contained some notice regarding the Locrians. It is hardly conceivable that he could have written *Boeoti* for *Locri* just here had there not been some confusing statements before him about Larymna being Locrian as well as Boeotian; and that it was an arrant blunder

365 ff. The date which Dittenberger assigned (first century B.C.) was shown to be wrong when the stone was removed to the museum and the complete inscription could be read. The mention of Ptolemy Philopater and the participation of a Locrian in the games are the deciding considerations in Volgraff's certainly correct reading.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* VII, 4137, *Κάπιλλος Στράτωνος Ληρουμνεὺς ἀνέθηκε κτλ.* As a real Locrian mentioned on the same stone is listed *Καλλικλίδας Λοκρὸς ἕως Ὀπάεντος* (No. 4136), there can be no doubt that Larymna was at this time regarded as a Boeotian city. This bit of evidence has been strangely overlooked. The inscription dates between 178 and 140 B.C. (Holleaux followed by Dittenberger).



for the Thessalian town is less likely, because Solinus goes right on to mention the latter in its proper place (8, 2). His source, or sources, must, therefore, have mentioned Larymna in this connection, and Larissa is put here for it because of some record of change in name, that the sources of Solinus gave (cf. note 2 below). In view of the evidence of the anonymous geographer quoted above I do not see how any other interpretation of this passage can be maintained.<sup>1</sup> As Solinus seems to take no notice of the provincial reforms of Diocletian, the *terminus ante quem* for the changed name of Larymna would be the end of the third century of our era.<sup>2</sup>

As will appear hereafter, Larymna had so declined in relation to Bumeliteia by the time of Justinian, that the latter had quite supplanted it. This fact probably will explain the change of name. The designation, Larissa, seems to mean a fortress,

<sup>1</sup> After the above was written, I discovered that Salmasius (*Plinianae Exercitationes*, Utrecht, 1689, p. 103a F) had made the following brief but apposite remark upon the passage in question from Solinus: *Sed in illa continentia nullum oppidum Larissa. Larymnam puto voluisse dicere.*

<sup>2</sup> The anonymous tractate and Solinus may now explain the curious errors of the Scholia on Lycophron, 1146. The older paraphrase (P) gives quite correctly πόλις [Κολχίδος] Δοκρίδος where Κολχίδος of B is probably a mere palaeographic error. On the other hand the Scholia give Λάρυμνα πόλις Θεσσαλίας to which Tzetzes added τὴν δὲ Λάρισσαν κακῶς λέγει Λάρυμναν. We must conjecture from these curious and egregious errors, which nothing in the context could possibly have suggested, that the more elaborate original (the commentary of Sextio perhaps?) had a statement about Larymna as a Locrian city, adding that it was now called Larissa (ἡ νῦν καλεῖται Λάρισσα, or the like). This the scholiast, having heard of the famous Thessalian Larissa, then stupidly abbreviated into Λάρυμνα πόλις Θεσσαλίας, while Tzetzes, with different but equal stupidity, actually censures the poet for having called Larissa Larymna, i.e., confused the two places!—Now that the oldest commentary had some indications of name changes here, may possibly appear from the fact that Tzetzes on this same verse remarks regarding the Spercheus: *ὅς νῦν Σαλαμβρία καλεῖται*. This is to be sure at variance with the anonymous author in the appendix to Hierocles, who gives: *Πηνιὸς ποταμὸς ἡ Σαλαμβρία* (8\*), but the Spercheus also appears in these lists: *Σπερχεῖος ποταμὸς ὁ νῦν Ἀγριομέλας* (cf. 58\*). Both statements are combined by Tzetzes, *Chil.*, IX, 705 f., who says that the Peneus, the Onochenus, the Spercheus, and others were called Salambria, but if there be any truth in the statement of the tractate just referred to: *Σπερχεῖος ποταμὸς καὶ Ἀπιδανὸς Φαρσάλων ποταμοί* (58\*), there may be some excuse for the mistake of Tzetzes in the commentary on Lycophron.—In any event the fact that Larymna was later called Larissa cannot now be doubted, supported as it is by the direct testimony of the tractate, and the indirect evidence of Solinus and of Tzetzes, together with the Scholia to Lycophron.

*burg*, or *arx*. After the inhabitants had abandoned the place, the remains of its massive fortifications suggested the name *Λάρισσα* the *arx*, which, by the way, is only the ancient equivalent for the modern appellation of the town proper, as distinct from the district, *Kastri*. It is noteworthy by way of evidence that the site was not occupied by any considerable population in late Roman or Byzantine times, that there are no extensive remains of Byzantine churches, and few shrines in the immediate vicinity, so that the town cannot have been long occupied after the introduction of Christianity. Furthermore the excellent preservation of the walls shows that the site was deserted in the later

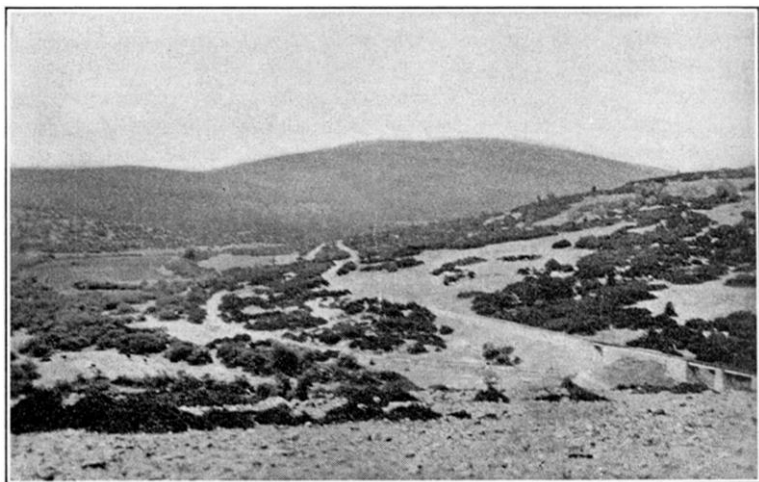


FIGURE 5.—UPPER LARYMNA. VIEW UP THE REVMA TOWARD THE COPAIC LAKE

period of antiquity and during the Byzantine and Turkish domination.

Finally it may be noted that some confirmation of Boeotian control of Larymna may be seen in the new inscription published in this JOURNAL for 1915, p. 321, which gives the rare and distinctively Boeotian name of *Ἰσμήγων*. The regularly formed letters without apices would date this stone as certainly no later than the second century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

As to the local form of the name, it was *Λάρυμνα* as evidenced

<sup>1</sup> From the Boeotian period of course comes the gloss of Hesychius: *Λάρυμνα*. πόλις Βοιωτίας.

by the united testimony of texts (add to those already cited, the gloss in Hesychius (above) and Lycophron, 1146), and inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The strange form *Ληρουμνέως* of an inscription from Mt. Ptoon would seem to be a Boeotian dialectic form.<sup>2</sup>

As for signs of a change in sea-level between antiquity and the present (an important matter along the coast of Locris), the evidence is inconclusive.<sup>3</sup> A very slight subsidence might be inferred from the fact that of the original eight arches of the bridge over the Revma (probably Turkish), only five are in full use, a sixth partly filled up, and the other two on the south side completely clogged (cf. p. 52, note 3 above). The city walls are

<sup>1</sup> Compare the inscription published by Jardé, *B.C.H.* XXVI, 1903, p. 329, No. 35c, 2 *Λαρόμνας* and 16 *Λαρόμνα*; the inscriptions cited above (*S.G.D.I.* 2593 *Λαρόμνας* and *I.G.* VII, 3078 *Λαρουμνέως*); *I.G.* IX, 1, 235, 4 *Λαρόμνης* (epic influence); *I.G.* VII, 1765, 11 (Thespieae) *Λαρουμνέως*; *C.I.G.* II, 1936, 9 (Brit. Mus., provenience unknown) *Λαρουμναίω*.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 54.—The inscription shows the typical forms of the Boeotian dialect throughout. The *ου* for *υ* is of course one of the most characteristic features of Boeotian inscriptions. On the other hand the *η* for *α* furnishes some difficulties. Dittenberger (*Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 557, n. 19) felt confident that the *η* represented *αι* from *αε*, the town name being composed of *λᾱς* and *ἐρουμνός*, an etymology which he felt to be "loci naturae accommodatissima." However, it would be difficult to find anywhere in Greece a spot less likely to be called a *λᾱς* than the flat, low-lying peninsula on which the town was built. Nor were the fortifications, though noticeably well preserved now, in any way exceptionally massive for an early period of antiquity. Professor Buck had the goodness to send me the following note: "There is every reason to be puzzled by the *η* of *Ληρουμνέως*, and I can think of nothing but an unaccountable vagary of the hand or the mind of the stonemason, who wrote as if the name of the town were *Λαίρουμνα*. Without further evidence one will scarcely credit the real existence of such a form. As for Dittenberger's explanation, even if the etymology were appropriate topographically, I should think it remarkable that the uncontracted form should turn up here and here only, against all other evidence of simple *Λᾱρ*."

<sup>3</sup> In this connection I might take occasion to correct Frazer, who speaks of Larymna having suffered in the earthquake of 1893 (p. 109). As a matter of fact Larymna felt only faint tremors at this time, when the epicentrum was near Thebes (C. Mitzopoulos, *Petermann's Mittheil.*, XL, 1894, pp. 218 f.). The great earthquakes which were most severe precisely on the Larymna peninsula and were felt even in Wilhelmshaven and Birmingham occurred on April 20 and 27, 1894. See the articles by Skuphos, Mitzopoulos and Papavasiliou quoted above, p. 46, note 1. The following bit of misinformation regarding Larymna is the more astonishing because of the average high reliability of its sources: *The Medit. Pilot*, IX, 4th. ed., 1908, p. 131: "Lake Topolias or Copais, whose waters discharge into this port (!) as well as Lakes Likeri and Paralimni which are connected with it by a canal, have been partially drained and brought under cultivation."

built very close indeed by the sea, so that the foundations are actually for the most part below high water mark, and the stone has suffered much from the action of the salt water. It is not impossible that originally they may have been a few feet farther away.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the inner harbor is so absurdly shallow now that it is difficult to conceive of it as ever having been any more shallow. Furthermore the old polygonal wall on the inner harbor side is a considerable distance from the water's edge. Probably the harbor was artificially deepened in antiquity, an operation which would apparently not be difficult, as the surface

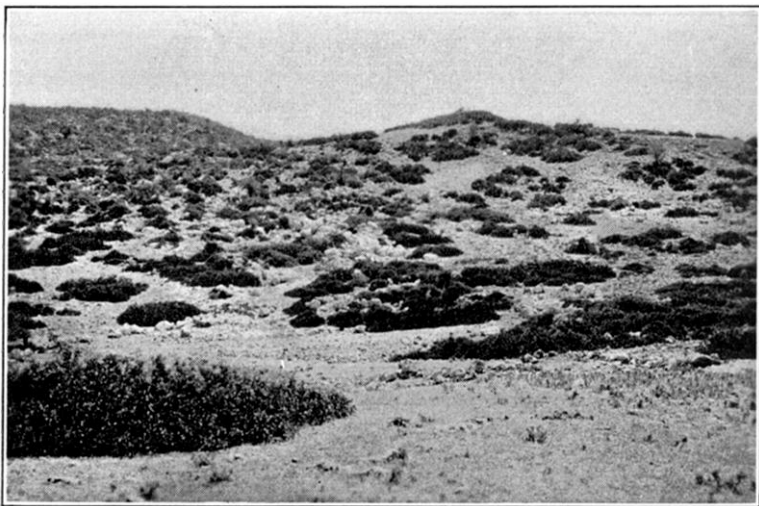


FIGURE 6.—UPPER LARYMNA. THE ACROPOLIS, SHOWING FRAGMENTS OF WALLS

near by seems to be composed of shingle and small stones only. This inner harbor is so small, and yet so powerfully protected with piers and towers, between which chains must have been drawn in antiquity, that it can only have been a war harbor.<sup>2</sup> As such, sheds along its sides could have accommodated a small-sized fleet. Since the towers are of the same style and material as the other later walls, I should have no hesitation in ascribing the

<sup>1</sup> In view of the difficulty of laying such a sea wall, where it does not appear to have been actually necessary.

<sup>2</sup> See Figure 4. I may note in passing Ulrichs' strange fancy that these piers at the mouth of the harbor were supports of an ancient bridge (*op. cit.*, p. 231).

powerful fortifications of this little naval base to Epaminondas, with whose general policy its date and construction best agree. The commercial harbor was on the east side, where considerable remains of two large moles may yet be seen.

At Upper Larymna I noticed that the city wall on the northwest, toward the mountain, can be traced for some 30 m., that towers appear at the two angles, northwest and northeast, and there was possibly one in the centre. The northeastern part of the hill was the acropolis, and towards the southwest there are traces of a gateway, possibly one leading to the lower town.<sup>1</sup>

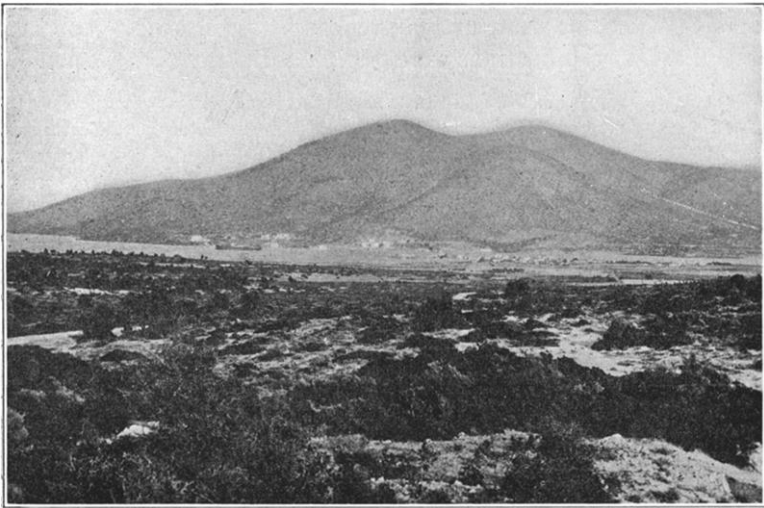


FIGURE 7.—LARYMNA. THE TOWN AND HARBOR FROM THE NORTHWEST

Figures 5 and 6 will give some idea of the general location of this settlement.

As for the etymology of Larymna, the word seems to be generally ascribed to the Carians (Leleges), doubtless in view of the Carian town of much the same name.<sup>2</sup> If it be really connected

<sup>1</sup> The iron and nickel mines which A. Struck (*Zur Landeskunde von Griechenland*, Frankfurt a.M., 1912, p. 20) ascribes to Larymna belong really to what was anciently Boeotia, being situated at Neo Kokkino just above the *Megale Katavothra*. The ore steamers remain in the deeper water on the east side of the bay, which is more easily reached by the railroad from the mines. See the general view, Figure 7.

<sup>2</sup> G. Meyer, *Die Karier*, Königsb. Diss., Gött., 1885, p. 18; A. Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen*, p. 80 (Carian), p. 136 (Lelegic); O. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth. u. Religionsgesch.*, p. 260, 9. L. Grasberger, *Studien zu griech. Ortsnamen*,

with Λάρυμνα, Λώρυμνα, etc., the gloss in Hesych.: λωρυμνόν· βαθύτατα, κατώτατα would suggest a most appropriate meaning for the name Λᾶρυμνα, as it lies on the sea at the very lowest point of the Cephissus-Copais valley, occupying besides an extremely low elevation only a very few feet above actual sea-level, and is quite without an acropolis of any kind. The historical conclusions that may be drawn from this must await the solution of the vexed questions of the prehellenic ethnography of Greece.<sup>1</sup> It may be suggested, however, as plausible, that upon this fact of the appearance of a rare place name both in East Locris and in Caria, and on certain other facts of the same sort, may have been based the oft-repeated assertion that the Locrians were originally Leleges (*i.e.*, Carians).<sup>2</sup>

Würzburg, 1883, p. 262 (cf. 169), connects it with λαφ, λάρα. Dittenberger's etymology, λᾶς+ἐρυμνός, has been discussed above. It might be noted that some support for the Latin authors who call the Carian town *Larumna* (Mela), *Lorimna* (Tab. Peut.) and *Larymna* (Pliny), whereas most Greek writers call it *Loryma*, may be found in Georgius Cyprius, 1467 [Gelzer], ὁ (*i.e.*, the bishop of) Λαρόμων. This presupposes a nominative Λάρυμνα, a form which appears in Const. Porph., see *Them.*, III, 37, 9, (Bonn ed.).—For a theory of religious-historical relations, see O. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth. u. Religionsgesch.*, p. 260.

<sup>1</sup> Lobeck, *Pathol. Serm. Gr., Proll.*, p. 170, pointed out that Λάρυμνα was a feminine form, while Λώρυμνα was a neuter plural (cf. E. H. Tzschukke on Pomp. Mela II, 45) and λωρυμνόν an adjective, but that merely calls attention to the fact that the three forms are not identical; they may be closely related for all that.

<sup>2</sup> In this connection it is well to remember that there was a tradition in accordance with which Minyans and Leleges were very closely connected if not actually identified. (*Plutarch, Quaest. Graec.*, 46: a law at Tralles about the proper atonement to be made by the person who had killed a Minyan or a Lelex, τὸν κτείναντα Μινύην ἢ Δελέγην). Larymna as the haven of the Minyan Orchomenus and as having a name suggestive of the Carian city would thus be a link in the line of argument used to identify Carians and Leleges. It is worth noting also, that though the Leleges are said to have been identical with the early Locrians, they never forced entrance into the list of eponymous ancestors beginning with Amphiktyon and ending with Aias. (cf. *Philol.*, LXVII, 1908, pp. 440 ff.). Nor is there any actual record of them about Opus or Cnemis. Pliny's source, however (see above), connects his statement about the Leleges with the notice regarding the outlet of the Cephissus, for as the jumble stands now in Pliny, it would appear that the Epicnemidians were the Locrians who lived at the mouth of the Cephissus, a statement which is notoriously false. The authority which Solinus followed (in this case certainly something more than Pliny, see above) also spoke of Leleges in immediate connection only with the mouth of the Cephissus. We can hardly be wrong therefore in conjecturing that the tradition of Lelegic origin for the Locrians was built up in large part at least about Larymna, its name and its historical associations.

As the Locrians seem to have occupied this part of their country only at a relatively late date, were at no time very numerous, and seem to have established aristocratic forms of government suggestive of the subjugation of a relatively large number of predecessors in the land, it may well be that some remnants of the prehellenic population of Greece may have lingered on in this out of the way region until well into the historical period. That the Locrians proper were as pure Greek as any other tribe, however, their dialect, cults, and mythology attest.

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